THE

DREAM

OF AN

ENGLISHMAN,

FAITHFUL TO

HIS KING AND COUNTRY.

By Trophime Gérard, marquis de Lally-Tollendal

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR P. ELMSLY.

M DCC XCIII.

The DREAM, &c.

A ROMAN, when the Romans were enſlaved, dreamed that he ſlew the tyrant: the tyrant heard of it, and puniſhed him with death. I dreamed that I was ſummoned to the council of a good King: a King who well deſerves the glory of ſupporting, by his virtues, that conſtitution which ſupports him, by its laws. My zeal, if even indiſcreet, will obtain, I truſt, at leaſt, his indulgence; while I hold it equally my duty to conceal my name, and let the public know my dream.

Abſent, till lately, from my country, I ſighed to meet with laws, to meet with men. Loſt in a long and dangerous voyage, I have been wandering amidſt a ſavage people: a people obedient to no laws but thoſe of a ferocious inſtinct: acknowledging no benevolent Deity, but worſhiping the principle of evil, to whom they offer human victims, while they feed on human blood. From ſuch ſacrifices, and ſuch feaſts, having eſcaped, as if by miracle, when I diſembarked in England, I fell proſtrate and kiſſed the Britiſh ſoil, the native growth of which are Wiſdom, Liberty, Humanity.

On a ſudden I learned that peace and law were threatened there; I learned by whom, and for what purpoſe, and I ſhrunk with horror. Proclamations, however, as firm as they were prudent, happily recalled the good, and ſtruck the bad with dread. I felt proud of my country, when I ſaw on every ſide thoſe noble aſſociations formed to defend the laws, the ſovereign, and the people. Mixing with the crowd, I found many who were more enlightened, none more zealous than myſelf. I had been long abſent from my country, and had great arrears of duty to diſcharge. So fortunate were my enquiries, that few, I believe, among my countrymen learned more than I did, of all that was conſpired againſt her, abroad and at home.

The

The thirteenth of December was a great day for England. It was diſtinguiſhed by the meeting of the King with his people, in the capital of the empire, the enthuſiaſtic rapture of that meeting, and the opening of the moſt patriotic Seſſion of Parliament that, perhaps, was ever held in England. In both houſes, it was a ſcene of conſolation to behold the unequal ſtruggle of ambition againſt patriotiſm, of a ſeditious rhetoric againſt the eloquence of virtue. I ſaw it, and was happy.

On the 15th, again I was in the Houſe of Commons: but hardly could I truſt my ears when I heard the propoſition made, of ſending *a public Miniſter to Paris, as to Conſtantinople or Algiers.* Even the form of this propoſition did not reconcile me to the ſubject of it; and I put up a ſecret prayer to nature, that, when ſhe forms in future ſuch ſublimity of talents, ſhe would join them with ſuch other qualities as may always render them a bleſſing, not a terror to mankind. I was agitated. I partook the virtuous indignation of the Noble Lord who aſked *how any one could dare propoſe to the Parliament of England to become aſſociated with a band of robbers and aſſaſſins?* When I returned home, I found the act declaratory of the crimes of Louis XVI. The ſtupidity of this act provoked me more than its mere malice could have done; before men could have impudence to publiſh ſuch an Act againſt a King, they muſt have been prepared to rob and murder in the public roads. They muſt have diſ-

miſſed all conſcience, ſhame, and every human tie. I repeated to myſelf this remark of Mr. Burke's: *At this moment the King of France is judged by citizen Paine, who will be judged in a few days by the King of England*, and ſhould he meet with his deſerts will be expoſed to public ſhame, at leaſt in effigy. I recollected alſo what the ſame author had ſaid in his ſecond Letter on the French Revolution, and I aſked myſelf whether the ſafety of the King of France, on which, perhaps, the ſafety of all Europe may depend, deſerve not quite as much the attention of the ſeveral cabinets, as the balance between Ruſſia and the Porte, and even between Auſtria and Pruſſia?

In the midſt of all theſe agitations, nature ſunk: for I had been three nights without ſleep. The ſame thoughts, however, ſtill purſued me. On a ſudden I ſeemed to be tranſported to St. James's. His Majeſty was there in Council; he had convened a deputy from each Parochial Aſſociation in the capital, and the pariſh I belong to had commiſſioned me, as having the completeſt knowledge of the plots. Each deputy explained the facts and proofs he had collected in his diſtrict. The Miniſters then ſpoke their ſentiments; and I admired, in all they ſaid, a true patriotiſm; a firm attachment to the Conſtitution of their country; an inflexible fidelity to our allies; a juſt apprehenſion of the miſeries with which the invaſion of theſe new Vandals menaces all Europe; a ſtrong

a ſtrong feeling for the unfortunate French King, and all his family: but they ſeemed to fear that the people of England were not fully conſcious of their intereſts: that, the danger being over for the preſent, they did not enough feel it to be neceſſary that its return ſhould be prevented. There was one meaſure which they did not venture to adviſe; one ſentiment peculiar to the King. Having cauſed me to repeat once more the whole of what I knew, his Majeſty reflected for a time. At length, amidſt a general ſilence of attentive expectation, he ſaid to me, "*Write.*" I took the pen, and, as he dictated, wrote down the following Manifeſto.

MANIFESTO.

MANIFESTO.

HIS Britannic Majeſty has followed the events that have been going on in France for four years paſt, with much attention and concern; but at the ſame time with a ſpirit of juſtice and moderation, to which all Europe can bear teſtimony.

At the opening of the States General in 1789, his Majeſty, whoſe pride it is to govern a free people, and who every day receives more touching proofs how cloſe an union may exiſt between fidelity and liberty, beheld, not only without envy, but with pleaſure, the hope which France then had of ſharing that to which his ſubjects owe ineſtimable bleſſings; a conſtitution free, wiſe, and vigorous, protecting every individual, and preſerving every right.

Troubles ſoon aroſe in France, between the ancient and the new authorities. His Britannic Majeſty, however, determined not to call to mind whatever might have led to reſolutions ſuch as an ordinary policy might ſeem to dictate, and the ſtricteſt Juſtice never could have blamed. His Majeſty conceived

ceived that by a generous oblivion he ſhould be more worthily avenged than by ſevere repriſals. He did more. For two years he offered the moſt ardent wiſhes, that His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and the French nation, by him invited to liberty, might come to ſome agreement on their real intereſts, and the means of fixing everlaſtingly their mutual and inſeparable proſperity.

In 1789, threats were circulated, that the magazines of a chief maritime town of France ſhould be burnt. His Britannic Majeſty ſtrongly expreſſed the horror that he felt at ſuch a project. He declared that the criminals, whoever they might be, ſhould find no aſylum in his kingdoms. He ſeized this opportunity of renewing to the King, and expreſſing to the National Aſſembly of France, his aſſurances of peace and friendſhip: that both, relieved from all external apprehenſion, might give themſelves entirely to thoſe labours on which depended the felicity of millions.

In 1791, the French colony of St. Domingo became the victim of a revolt and devaſtation, too eaſily foreſeen. In conſequence of orders from his Majeſty, Lord Effingham ſupplied the coloniſts with veſſels and proviſions, and public thanks were voted, by the National Aſſembly of France, to his Britannic Majeſty, and the Britiſh Nation.

In

In the month of September, in the ſame year, His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty notified to the King of Great Britain, that he had accepted the conſtitution voted by the National Aſſembly. His Majeſty replied by new expreſſions of his wiſhes for the happineſs of the contracting parties, then connected with each other by the faith of a new oath.

In the Month of June, 1792, France declared war againſt the Emperor. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, by his ambaſſador, made and reiterated the moſt earneſt inſtances, that his Britannic Majeſty would preſerve his amicable diſpoſitions, and not increaſe the enemies of France. By the ſame ambaſſador, his Majeſty received thanks *for the ſentiments of humanity, juſtice, and peace, ſo manifeſt in his reply*; and alſo *for the Royal Proclamation iſſued on that ſubject.*

Note of M. Chauvelin, 18 June, 1792.

In conſequence of theſe known diſpoſitions of his Majeſty, the King of France ſent application to him *to employ his good offices*, and even *the influence of his ſituation*, to decreaſe the number of the enemies of France, *and to prevent aſſiſtance, direct or indirect, from being given to them by his allies.* In ſupport of this requeſt the French Ambaſſador alledged *the balance of Europe, the independance of its ſeveral ſtates, and the danger threatened to its general Peace.* At this period, it was freely and poſitively declared, on the part of his Britannic Majeſty, *That, moſt certainly, the ſame ſentiments by which his Majeſty had been determined*

Ibid.

not to interfere with the interior affairs of France, would equally incline him to reſpect the rights and independance of the other Sovereigns. But, at the ſame time, the offer of his *mediation, by counſel or good offices,* was no leſs poſitively made, *provided it ſhould be deſired by all the parties intereſted.* In the mean time, his Majeſty engaged to keep a ſtrict neutrality; and by his moſt near allies the ſame ſyſtem has been embraced and ſcrupulouſly obſerved.

Lord Grenville's Note in Anſwer to that of M Chauvelin of the 18th.

His Majeſty, touched with intimate affection for the Moſt Chriſtian King, with eſteem for his virtues, and feeling for his ſufferings, heard with great uneaſineſs the dangers he encountered on the 20th of June: but at the ſame time he learnt that his courage and good conſcience had preſerved him in the midſt of peril. Soon after, he ſaw the conſtituted authorities, the common councils of the towns and country, 67 out of 83 departments, encompaſſing the throne with their loyal addreſſes; proteſting their fidelity to the King of the French; returning thanks to him for his firmneſs; offering him their hearts and hands; devoting that fatal day to infamy and execration; in a word, ſoliciting, in the name of the Conſtitution and of the Nation, the puniſhment of thoſe by whom that guilty effort had been plotted, executed, or permitted. His Majeſty was not yet under the painful neceſſity of departing from the line he had marked out; on the contrary, for ſome moments he began

to hope for France the return of that internal quiet, which ſoon would have produced external peace.

Unfortunately this hope was very ſoon cut off; new ſeeds of diſcord were diffuſed; their growth was no leſs rapid than alarming; events puſhed on each other, misfortunes multiplied, and Europe ſaw the dreadful 10th of Auguſt.

That which on the 21ſt of June had been *the Nation*, on the 11th of Auguſt was ſo no more. Thoſe who on the former day had been called *Rebels*, on the latter called themſelves *the Government*. Municipalities, departments, juſtices of peace, tribunals, the conſtitution itſelf, that conſtitution which five and twenty days before had been confirmed by ſolemn oath, all theſe, and even the King, had diſappeared.

It was then the proper time for his Britannic Majeſty to call home his Ambaſſador. He had been ſent to the French King, and that King was impriſoned: he could reſide only with a government, and there was none in France. Even they who on the evening of the 10th of Auguſt had united to deſtroy the throne, on the enſuing day divided to conteſt the ſpoils. In this perpetual inſtability of parties, which for three years had diſtracted the kingdom, and which, as either prevailed or were defeated, were called by turns *the Nation* or *the Faction*, by what mark could his

his Majeſty diſtinguiſh which had really the right of being ſtyled *the People of France?*

His Majeſty did not conceal the deep affliction of his heart occaſioned by ſo many tragical events. What heart was barbarous enough to ſeem, at ſuch a time, inſenſible! Even admitting the poſſibility of a doubt which ſide to take, grief belonged to both. Each had its loſſes to deplore, the blood had ſtreamed on either part. If we even force ourſelves to believe that the vanquiſhed had been the aggreſſors, was there not an abuſe of victory, which the fierceſt wars, in ages the moſt barbarous, could hardly parallel? France, thus wounded in one part, was threatened on all. Switzerland, a nation no leſs brave than honeſt, was plunged in grief. Was not this grief the general ſentiment of Europe? To be anxious and to groan, was it not, at ſuch a time, to ſympathize with all, and to ſpeak the univerſal language?

To the teſtimony of this deep affliction, his Majeſty united the expreſſion of a lively intereſt for his Moſt Chriſtian King, for his Royal Family, their ſafety, and their dignity. He announced the general indignation that a crime, of which they were the intended victims, would excite. He gave notice, that by ſuch an act his amicable diſpoſitions would of neceſſity be violated. Who will dare to ſay, that ſuch a declaration was not at that time a duty? what King, what people, not inſenſible to juſtice and to genero-

ſity, would not have felt the ſtrongeſt ſympathy, in viewing ſo much probity, ſo great courage, ſo much youth and virtue, joined with ſuch misfortunes? What man exiſting, armed with any power, would not ſuppoſe himſelf obliged to uſe it all, to prevent, if poſſible, ſuch horrible injuſtice? What ſignifies the number of the men who would commit it? Is it againſt weakneſs in behalf of ſtrength, or in behalf of weakneſs againſt ſtrength, that it becomes a man to arm? His Britannic Majeſty, on this ſubject, would boldly make appeal to all true Frenchmen. He feels convinced that, even at this moment, the great majority would applaud his declaration. Could the conſciences of men be revealed, he might, perhaps, appeal even to thoſe who ſeem moſt earneſt for deſtroying his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. It might then be ſeen that Louis the XVIth, equal in ill-fortune and integrity, has not perhaps a ſingle perſonal enemy; and that the king is hated only from a hatred to royalty, by thoſe who, having ventured to deſtroy it, deſpair to ſubſtitute any better thing, yet dread the thoughts of ſeeing that revive.

But, even in the midſt of theſe eventual declarations, his Majeſty renewed his aſſurances of peace; and ſuffered his ambaſſador once to ſee the equivocal depoſitaries of proviſional government, in order to declare, that his intention was to keep a ſtrict neutrality

neutrality with reſpect to France, and the powers with which ſhe was at war.

Conformable to this language have been the actions of his Majeſty; in his dominions, all advantages that treaties promiſed have been granted to the French; all of them have been received, whatever were their opinions, whatever their deſigns. Security, liberty, property, have been unviolated, induſtry unfettered.

For ſtores of proviſions, horſes, arms, they have found the greateſt facility, perhaps too great, for among the arms ſome have been of a kind not merely ſuſpicious. Finally, to this very moment, nothing has been ſaid, nothing has been done by his Majeſty, with reſpect to France, in which he has not ſpoken or acted in a manner worthy of a good, nay, even of a friendly and indulgent neighbour.

On the part of the French government, what return has this behaviour of his Majeſty produced?

While Louis XVI. remained upon his throne, his Majeſty received from him all that he had reaſon to expect. The unfortunate Louis loved to reckon upon the affection of his Majeſty, and probably has more than once reproached himſelf for that war, ſo fatal to the continent of Europe, into which imprudent miniſters ſeduced his youth.

Since

Since the ſhameful detention in which, for theſe four months, Louis XVI. and all his family have groaned, there is no kind of injury, which has not been offered to his Britannic Majeſty, except open war, which would at leaſt have been more generous.

His ambaſſador was made ſubject to refuſals, to forms, and to an enquiry, incompatible with the reſpect due to one who repreſented him.

Such of his ſubjects as were then in France were not allowed at their own pleaſure to quit a land, in which the life of every man was ſubject to the arbitrary and capricious rage of the firſt murderer who might chance to make a ſport of aſſaſſination, frequently without anger, and even without a motive.

Some of them have been detained in private cuſtody, ſome at midnight have been dragged out of their ſleep to priſon, when the maſſacres of the ſecond of September were already reſolved. They have in vain demanded exemption as ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, and have owed their ſafety only to the accidental turn of circumſtances.

Two were maſſacred.

Whole ſocieties of Britiſh ſubjects have been obliged to abandon the houſes they poſſeſſed in France, having bought or built them at their own expence; in

in which, under the protection of his Britannic Majeſty, under the ſafeguard of treaties, under the liberty of conſcience proclaimed by France herſelf, they peaceably purſued their ſtudies, and maintained the exerciſe of their religion.

Engliſh travellers have been detained, inſulted, threatened.

Females have been put under military guard, ſome of them plundered, others ſubjected to injuries worſe than death itſelf.

Proprietors of land, who, under the terms of treaties, and even of the French conſtitution, were allowed to have poſſeſſions, acquiſitions, and engagements, in France, have been conſidered as emigrants: and becauſe they returned to their original country, and into the boſom of their families, have had their goods ſeized, their revenues confiſcated, and their poſſeſſions put up to ſale.

Laſtly, after all theſe partial injuries, ſome at leaſt of which might be attributed to chance, the whole has been completed by a general, voluntary, and determined injury; the more touching to the heart of his Majeſty, becauſe it muſt affect the happineſs of his ſubjects; the more atrocious, becauſe, in order to commit it, all notions of juſtice and injuſtice muſt be ſet at nought; every thing, that from the firſt exiſt-

ence

ence of ſociety had been held ſacred, muſt be violated; every thing that reaſon and morality had eſtabliſhed as the law of nations muſt be ſubverted.

To you it is, noble and faithful Britons, that your King recites the anxious feelings of his heart, and the perils from which he has been ſtudious to preſerve you. You muſt be told the truth. Your enemies had contrived, they had carried on, they thought themſelves at the very moment of completing, a conſpiracy to overturn your Laws, and to annihilate your Conſtitution; to deſtroy that happy labour of your glorious anceſtors, which, for a century at leaſt, has raiſed you to the higheſt rank of nations, both in dignity and wealth.

They who have profaned their temples, blaſphemed their God, and made as many martyrs as they could diſcover men adhering to religion; theſe could not bear to ſee that elevation and that purity of ſoul, which lead you to acknowledge as the groundwork of your whole morality, reſpect and duty to the great Creator.

They who have oppreſſed with chains, with inſults, and with puniſhments, a benevolent King, and all his family, regarding neither ſex nor age; theſe men have been enraged to view the union here eſtabliſhed, between a wiſe people, and a Government that they have tried, and love; between a people of

ſtrict

ſtrict probity, perſuaded of the ſanctity of oaths; a people of good feelings, who return affection for benevolence; and a Sovereign, whoſe reign is that of law; who ſeeks no power but that of giving happineſs to you; who knows no glory but your liberty, no happineſs but your attachment.

They who have violated, burnt, and ravaged property on every ſide, deſtroying the reſources of the poor by devouring all the fortunes of the rich; who, after taking from the indigent their bread, have made it ſcarce, even to thoſe in better circumſtances; who have covered France with priſons, gibbets, ruins, maſſacres: theſe men deteſt a country where men of property without alarm paſs happy days, and nights of ſound tranquillity; where induſtry proceeds to fortune by the path of honour, where the labourer finds work, the poor aſſiſtance; where the law alone, and that a law above corruption, can deprive a man of liberty; where juſtice only ſtrikes at life, and even the hand of juſtice ſtrikes unwillingly.

They, who, with the words *Liberty* and *Equality* for ever in their mouths, have introduced the moſt intolerable ſlavery, and moſt monſtrous inequality; who have puniſhed opinions with death, and have hunted out opinions even in the ſecrecy of thoughts and private papers; who, for every different perſon to be tried, have thrown a different weight into the ſcale of juſtice; who have always honoured, always

 acquitted,

acquitted, always even rewarded, plunderers and aſſaſſins; have always inſulted, always condemned, always ſacrificed men of worth and property; who have been firſt to ſhew mankind the ſcandal of Judges faithful to the law, deprived, impriſoned, murdered; who, in full court, would fain have maſſacred a *Jury* for declaring a man Not Guilty; who, with the aid of an iniquitous Judge, remanded back to priſon a man found innocent by legal ſentence; who ſought another Jury to declare him Guilty; and, after all, thought it the readieſt way to murder him, without waiting for this ſecond verdict: theſe men could not bear that near them ſhould exiſt a country, in which the freedom of the ſubject has no other boundary than that which law has placed, that is, in fact, his own conſent; where thoughts are totally inviolable, and opinion cannot be made a crime; where error is pardoned, and guilt can only be attached to actions. They could not bear that near them ſhould exiſt a country, where true *equality* prevails in full perfection; that is, where not a ſingle native can exiſt, who, by talents, virtues, ſervices, may not attain the higheſt offices and honours; where the term *new man* is unknown; where the life, liberty, and property, of the moſt obſcure individual are juſt as highly valued as thoſe of the moſt elevated; where the firſt Peer of the Realm, and the moſt humble artiſan, have equal weight within the ſcale of Juſtice. They could not bear that near them ſhould exiſt a country, where the law is adored, and where, for many generations,

there

there has no ſuch thing been heard of as a corrupt Judge, a perjured Jury, an oppreſſive Magiſtrate, a criminal not defended, or an innocent man condemned.

Finally, they who have annihilated their commerce, and converted their moſt flouriſhing colonies to a heap of bloody aſhes; who have driven out one half of their ſpecie, and, diſtruſtful of themſelves, have buried the reſt, replacing it by fraudulent paper and fictitious money, which all the territory of France, ere long, will not be able to redeem; they, in a word, who, without religion, morals, laws, or government, have deſtroyed in four years the work of fourteen ages, have led their miſerable country to anarchy, to war internal and external, to bankruptcy and famine: theſe men have viewed with envy, and have curſed, the immenſity of your commerce, the proſperity of your colonies, the reduction of your debt, the diminution of your taxes, the abundance of your treaſures; your credit, your plenty, your laws, your virtues.

Into this land of Juſtice and of Peace they have ſent a gang of deſperate men, with charge to bring upon us all the miſeries with which they have already overwhelmed their native country. Theſe men have been diſtributed in various parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and even in the Britiſh Colonies. Among theſe Apoſtles of guilt and diſcord, a ſacrilegious hierarchy has been eſtabliſhed; every one connected with

ſome chief, who had a certain number under him. Every one, in his proportion, has had large remittances, not only for himſelf, but for the purpoſe of corrupting and retaining ſimple, wicked, or guiltily ambitious men, who in the wiſeſt nation, and beneath the moſt juſt government, are yet too numerous. The chiefs kept up a correſpondence; from one part to another, emiſſaries were diſpatched continually, whoſe buſineſs was to circulate incendiary libels, and treacherous exhortations. They returned periodically to France with accounts of their miſſion, and then were ſent again to England, with new inſtructions and ſupplies. Thus the new adminiſtrators of France, who have devoured three thouſand millions of their livres, in three years, who expend in one year eighteen hundred millions, though they lay on only ſix hundred, and have received, during the laſt year, only one hundred and eighty-ſeven; theſe men, inſtead of ſeeking means of peace, and finding ſome reſource for their exhauſted country, drain it more completely, and augment the miſery of the French, for no better purpoſe than to ruin England, as they have already ruined France.

Britons, look around you. Behold your houſes, your land, your towns, your manufactures, your harbours. Review in your own minds the whole Britiſh empire. Then turn your eyes to France, and compare with what you are, that ſtate to which theſe men would fain reduce you.

Of

Of theſe facts his Majeſty has poſitive knowledge. He is informed of all the chiefs, their agents, their ſocieties, correſpondents, emiſſaries; their times of meeting, journeys, and reſolves.

He knows which among them had letters of unlimited credit; which of them had monthly, weekly, or daily pay. He knows that a plan was actually formed to ſeize the Tower, and carry off the ſtores of arms, to throw open the priſons, to attack the houſes of the wealthy, and the public offices; in a word, to deſtroy by one blow every branch of the conſtitution. He knows that the execution of this plot was propoſed for Saturday the firſt of December, 1792, or Monday the third. He has ſeen the model of the daggers to be put into the hands of the ſeditious; it was found in the poſſeſſion of a Frenchman. He knows where twenty thouſand weight of iron was depoſited, prepared for forming into pikes in a few hours.

His Majeſty is informed what members of the National Convention, finding that the plots went on too ſlowly, wrote to one of his agents *that they did not labour as they ought, nor duly earn the pay of the Republic.*

He knows what other members of the National Convention had formed a plan to excite your negroes to revolt, deſtroy the Britiſh Colonies, and, in a word, *at any hazard and expence to ruin England.*

He

He knows what emiſſary of Erance, after ſtaying only four and twenty hours in London, went off for the Hague, with a commiſſion *to throw Holland into confuſion.*

He is informed what other emiſſary wrote back to France about the middle of November, promiſing *that the revolt would ſoon break out in London*: but, about the middle of December, wrote again, *that for the preſent there was no farther hope.*

He knows which of the chiefs has warned his agents, *that, as the firſt attempt has failed, they muſt take their meaſures very cautiouſly before they try a ſecond.*

He knows the number and the names of the French engineers, who, finding no employment from a baffled plot in England, had orders to embark for Ireland, on Monday the 17th of laſt December; and he alſo knows what chief firſt countermanded them, and ſent them back to France, and afterwards returned thither himſelf.

If the proviſional executive council of France will deny the acts of the French government in all theſe horrid machinations, it will be an equivocation which deſerves not even a moment's notice. We know well that the real power is not veſted there; and that though ſome few members of that body may, as individuals, be admitted to the myſteries of the men

in power, collectively the executive council is no better than a ſervile inſtrument.

But ſucceſs was thought ſo certain, that at Paris they threw off the maſk. In the ſitting of November 28, ſeveral perſons, calling themſelves Britiſh ſubjects, appeared at the bar of the aſſembly which is ſtyled *the National Convention.* They appeared there for the purpoſe of reviling the Britiſh Conſtitution; they announced that, *perhaps in a very ſhort time*, it would no more exiſt; they boaſted of being rebels to their King and Country: and the Convention overwhelmed them with applauſes! The Preſident, in his anſwer, refining on their guilty madneſs, was bold enough to invite all the ſubjects of Great Britain to revolt againſt their Laws, their King, and Parliament; he dared to ſay, that *royalty itſelf was expiring, and that a ſecret fire would ſoon conſume the throne:* and at theſe words there was a burſt of new applauſe.

After this act of treaſon on the one hand, and direct hoſtility on the other, to give it a more ſolemn character, and more extenſive effect, it was ordered to be printed and publiſhed.

Noble and faithful Britons, behold in what manner your King has been rewarded for his fidelity to treaties, for the generoſity which made him diſdain vengeance, and the moderation which cauſed him to refuſe victory; for the reſpect he had to misfortune,

and

and the vows he had put up for the proſperity of France! Behold how you yourſelves have been rewarded for your good wiſhes, your good neighbourhood, your aids, and your impartial hoſpitality!

Official Note of M. Chauvelin, 12 May, 1792.

Behold the effect of thoſe promiſes ſo ſolemnly reiterated by the Ambaſſador of France! Behold *that reſpect which the French would always pay to the laws, the cuſtoms, and all the forms of government, eſtabliſhed in thoſe countries by which they have not been attacked!* Behold the ſincerity of that *diſavowal* which he pronounced before-hand; that *ſeverity* which he undertook to exerciſe againſt *all agents of that country who, in foreign and friendly courts, ſhould for a moment dare to deviate from that reſpect, either by fomenting or favouring inſurrections againſt the eſtabliſhed Government, or by intermeddling, in any manner whatſoever, with the interior policy of thoſe States, under pretext of making proſelytes, which, with reſpect to friendly powers, would be an actual infringement of the undoubted rights of nations!*

Aſſuredly, if his Majeſty were inclined to put forth all his power, to call around him, in the name of the Conſtitution, all his faithful ſubjects, and to take a ſignal vengeance for ſo many crimes and perjuries, never war could be more juſt, or more completely national.

Never

Never war, on the other hand, could promiſe to be more quickly terminated, leſs expenſive, or more fortunate.

Thoſe of the French colonies that remain, fatigued with inſurrections, conflagrations, maſſacres, would adore the Britiſh ſtandard when it reached their coaſts, to bring them that to which they have ſo long been ſtrangers,—Peace and Laws.

The eſtabliſhments of France in Aſia would fall at the firſt ſummons made to them in the name of his Britannic Majeſty.

Our fleets, united with thoſe of our ancient allies (and perhaps with others), would at once ſhut all the ports of France, and oblige the Government to yield at length to juſtice and to reaſon, under pain of the deſtruction of their navy, the ſtagnation of their commerce, and the ſcourge of famine.

The united Powers to whom his Majeſty has ſo ſteadily refuſed to accede, encouraged by ſo effectual a diverſion, would ſoon diſperſe thoſe armies of the French, which, in the midſt of all their plunder, are in want of every thing; thoſe armies, no leſs terrible to the country which have raiſed them, than to thoſe where they have marched; the return of which is yet more dreadful to the Government of France than their conqueſts have been beneficial.

But his Majeſty would not conſider himſelf as juſt, if in the factions which oppreſs and which deceive the French, he viewed the nation itſelf. If he conſidered a people, hitherto renowned for brilliant virtues, and for gentle manners, as exiſting in a ſet of criminal and ferocious clubs; in an aſſemblage of men unknown, and of no country, among whom, whoever in his native land has met with juſt contempt, or been obnoxious to the vengeance of the laws, finds a refuge; it would be afflicting to his Majeſty to take a meaſure which, by ſad neceſſity, muſt confound the innocent with the guilty; nor could, at leaſt in the beginning, make diſtinctions between thoſe who might be worthy of puniſhment, or of compaſſion; between thoſe who have a claim to ſuccour, and thoſe whoſe crimes have called for vengeance.

Relieved, moreover, from the proſpect of immediate danger, by the courage and integrity of his faithful ſubjects, by their ardour to ſupport the Conſtitution, by their numerous and affecting teſtimonies of attachment to his perſon, family, and government, his Majeſty, conſidering the happineſs of England as ſecure, may try, with reſpect to the French Government, the methods of juſtice and of moderation.

His Majeſty declares once more, that his intention is to abſtain from every kind of interference in the internal

internal Government of France. He will not diſpute with the nation its right to legiſlate for itſelf. Would to God it had already been long exerciſed! Be it exerciſed even now. Let us behold in France diſtinctly what may deſerve to be conſidered as the nation, what may be worthy of the name of laws; and then his Majeſty will not refuſe to form with France any ſuch connection as is known among the powers of Europe.

France is alarmed for her ſubſiſtence, and with too much reaſon. His Majeſty makes an offer of all the ſuccours he can give, is open to the propoſal of all kinds of treaty for ſupplies, which may not be injurious to his ſubjects, whoſe welfare he muſt ever firſt conſult.

The Colonies of France are reduced to the moſt deplorable ſituation. His Majeſty then offers to the Government of France, when once it ſhall be fairly conſtituted, that he will act in concert with it to give order to thoſe countries once ſo proſperous. Thus is it that the King and people of Great Britain ought to take revenge.

France is at war with half of Europe, even her victories impoveriſh, and make her odious. The French Ambaſſador had aſked the mediation of his Majeſty; he offers it again upon the ſame condition, that all the parties equally deſire it.

But when the King is thus moderate, he has a right to look for juſtice. To all theſe offers are annexed conditions which he does not hold himſelf at liberty to wave.

His Majeſty diſdains to aſk for ſatisfaction, either from the emiſſaries who came to preach ſedition in his kingdoms, or from the Preſident of the National Convention, from whom the Dignity of his Crown, and the loyalty of the Britiſh Nation, received an inſult unparalleled in the hiſtory of civilized Nations. They will find their puniſhment in the impotence of their attempts, and in the ſight, to them ſo agonizing, of a king and people joined indiſſolubly by their mutual affection, beneath the ſafeguard of their invincible Conſtitution.

But the French Ambaſſador, *in the name of that people*, had given the King *expreſs aſſurance*, that *whatever might concern the rights of his Britannic Majeſty, ſhould be the object of the moſt particular and ſcrupulous attention.* The Rights of his Majeſty and of his ſubjects are the ſame, the former exiſt only to protect the latter: but theſe rights, in France, are daily violated.

M. Chauvelin's note.

The French Ambaſſador had declared to the King that *the rights of all thoſe allies of Great Britain* who ſhould have taken *no hoſtile ſteps againſt France, ſhould be reſpected no leſs religiouſly.* The Dutch have obſerved

ſerved a neutrality no leſs ſtrict than that of England; yet they are attacked in their moſt poſitive rights, by the opening of the Scheld, and the manœuvres carried on in the interior of their country.

The French ambaſſador had to his Majeſty invoked *the Faith of Treaties*; yet, in contempt of thoſe treaties which permit the ſubjects of both nations to paſs freely from the one to the other, even without paſſports, proſcriptions have been iſſued againſt peaceable French who came to England, as if it were a crime deſerving death to tread on Britiſh ground.

The French ambaſſador urged to the King *The Balance of Europe*, yet on every ſide this balance is deſtroyed. He alledged *the independance of the ſeveral ſtates*, which every where is violated; and *the danger to the general peace*, while the French Government has denounced an open war againſt all the Governments of Europe!

It was proclaimed, in the name of the French Nation, that it had renounced all conqueſt. Its ambaſſador had proteſted to his Majeſty, that *whatever might be the iſſue of the preſent War, France, religiouſly attached to her Conſtitution, rejected every idea of aggrandiſement, and would retain her actual limits.* Nevertheleſs, on every ſide, the armies of France have ſeized the territory of Powers which not only had not made attacks on France, but had not even taken

Note of M. Chauvelin, 12 May, 1792.

taken meaſures of defence againſt her. Her limits have been extended, and whole regions have been declared united to her dominion.

It had been proclaimed, in the name of the French nation, that reſpect for property was the baſis of its new Conſtitution. The Ambaſſador gave ſtrong aſſurances *that France had never thought of refuſing juſtice to the Princes of Germany who have poſſeſſions within her territory*. Yet the ſyſtem of raiſing contributions has ſucceeded to that of offering indemnities: and the French armies have treated, not only the Princes, but the inhabitants of Worms, Mayence, and even Frankfort, no better than the legiſlature treated thoſe to whom it gave the name of Emigrants.

Note of M. Chauvelin, 12 May, 1792.

Finally, and this it is which at this day is moſt important, it was proclaimed, in the name of the French Nation, that the Perſon of the King was inviolable and ſacred. The French Ambaſſador even called the intereſt taken for his perſon, and the thought of arming for his ſafety, *a pity that was inſulting to the King of the French*. Nevertheleſs, a band of perjured, bloody men, has, in the name of the French Nation, impriſoned the French King, and all his Family. They who would aſſaſſinate, have claimed to judge him!—At firſt they accuſed him of having laid the conſpiracy of the 10th of Auguſt, with deſign to overturn the Conſtitution; immediately

mediately after, they boaſted, in their ſpeeches, of having been themſelves the conſpirators; of having laid and carried on that plot. They have named the places where their projects were determined; the means they uſed to give their ſchemes effect; the decrees by which they ſtripped the King of all who could defend him; and thoſe by which they gave his Palace to the mercy of the plunderers. They have mentioned an earlier period fixed for the execution of their plot, and the reaſon why it was deferred till the tenth of Auguſt, and till the inſtant when, at night, they gave their orders for the ſounding of that alarm, which cauſed the death of thouſands. They have contended even with rancour, who ſhould claim the greateſt ſhare in that event; they have diſputed openly, ſome of them, who had carried on moſt plots; others, who had committed moſt aſſaſſinations. They have avowed *that the men of the 2d of September were the ſame as thoſe of the 10th of Auguſt.* They have confeſſed, that on the 14th of July, when, at the altar of their country, they ſolemnly renewed the oath *of maintaining the Conſtitution*; on the 7th of July, when *they ſwore to devote to execration all Republicans, and enemies to the Conſtitution*; on the 1ſt of October, the firſt day of their ſeſſion, when each of them individually aſcending the *tribune*, and lifting his hand toward Heaven, articulately pronounced the oath, that he would die for the Conſtitution, *for which alone he exiſted, and that he would with all his power preſerve it*; that, at all theſe times, they ſwore internally

to

to overturn that very conſtitution. Lo! then, how, forgetting theſe avowals, they ſtill pretend to bring a judgement againſt the King, for having plotted that ſame tenth of Auguſt, and reſolved to overturn the Conſtitution! They conſider him already as convicted. Without the leaſt formality they have ſeized his papers, that they might at pleaſure ſuppreſs, interpolate, and alter them: they are calling out theſe 48 ſections of the capital, which cannot bear that a good man ſhould live among them; and who, in the night of the 10th of Auguſt, formed in all a body of 492 men, and ſtyled themſelves the *French People.* They defy the true people, who, diſperſed, diſarmed, diſunited, without agent, without chief, deplore in ſecret the misfortune of their King, and feel the blows that fall upon him.

His Britannic Majeſty at preſent waves the other matters of complaint he has declared; at this moment he confines himſelf to the laſt article, the moſt preſſing, the one that piety peculiarly demands, the ſafety of the virtuous and unhappy Louis. It is pleaſing to him to perſuade himſelf, that even among thoſe by whom his kingdom is now governed, the greateſt part will bleſs him, ſhould he be the means of ſaving the French nation from the moſt horrible parricide, the moſt crying injuſtice, indelible diſgrace, and an eternal deſpair.

His Majeſty declares, therefore, whether it be to the Proviſional Executive Council, to the National Con-

Convention, or to any other body, or individual, in whom the power may be repoſed, that the firſt condition made by the King and People of Great Britain, as a means of doing away the offences herein ſtated, is the Liberty of the King Louis the XVIth, the Queen his wife, and all his Royal Family: and that they be conducted to ſome port where a Britiſh ſquadron ſhall receive them, and convey them to ſome place of ſafety, which a nation full of generous and hoſpitable feelings will be proud to find within itſelf.

His Majeſty, on the other hand, declares, that if any violence be committed againſt any perſon of that family, which its virtues and misfortunes have yet more exalted than its dignity; he then, in the face of Heaven, proteſts that he will eſpouſe a cauſe ſo ſacred, and will unite himſelf, with all his force, to all the parties who ſhall feel an intereſt to revenge a crime ſo execrable. His Majeſty proteſts that he, with them, will put forth all his power, in aiding France to liberate herſelf: in taking off that bloody yoke which factious men, diſowned and hated by a great majority of the true French nation, forcibly impoſe upon her. Finally, his Majeſty proteſts that he will be the firſt to call on every Power to act in concert, ſo that there may not be on earth a refuge for thoſe murderers of kings and people, who will deſerve to find themſelves proſcribed by all the human race.

312710